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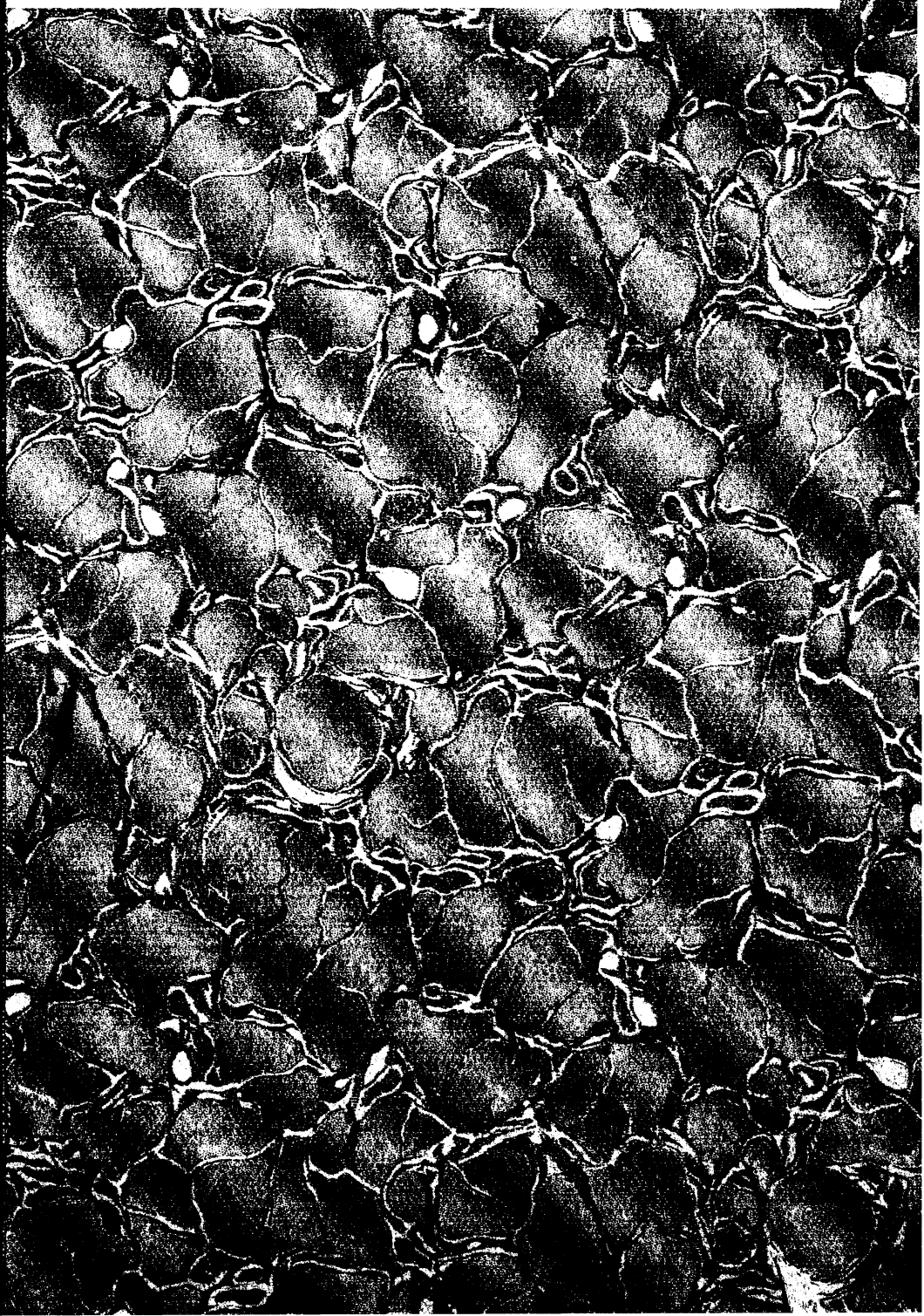

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INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION.

AN

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES,

BY THE

AMERICAN UNION OF ASSOCIATIONISTS.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS!—We address you on a subject which we think of vital importance to your welfare, and we ask your calm and deliberate attention to the views we are about to present. Let no hasty impression—let no prejudice imbibed in a thoughtless moment, or under the force of wilful or unwilful misrepresentation—deter you from the perusal of the few and brief words in which you are here accosted. The objects we have in view are great and elevated; our motives, we know, are sincere; we harbor no mercenary nor sinister designs, and we appeal alike to men of all classes, and of every shade of Political and Religious opinion.

No man can have observed the tendencies of the age in which we live without perceiving that there is everywhere a restless uneasiness under the present circumstances of society, and an earnest desire for Advancement and Progress. In the efforts which benevolent men of all civilized Nations are making to meliorate the condition of their fellows, we see the movings of a Conviction that Mankind is not placed in such relations as it should be, and of a Hope that it is possible for us to attain to a much better state. How many are the ways, how various the methods in which this Conviction and this Hope find an expression! Reformers, Teachers, Missionaries, Statesmen, Ministers, of every kind and degree, confess, by the very nature of their efforts, the intolerable weight of misery which hangs upon Society, and the deep need there is of a prompt and vital improvement.

It is obvious, however, from the results of all these movements, beneficial as many of them are, that they do not strike at the root of the evil. We discover a great deal of good in them, it is true; but on the whole an evident inadequacy to accomplish their aims. We honor the motives of all who are engaged in a conscientious effort at Human Improvement; we acknowledge the indebtedness of the world, for much that makes life valuable, to those noble and generous spirits who take upon themselves the task of instructing and elevating Society; we thank God that he raises up, from time to time, wise and good Men as instruments, in His hand, for the better guidance of their race. While, therefore, we take a position of antagonism to no party or sect, we are

compelled to affirm that the state of Society requires a deeper and more universal Reform than any that has yet been applied. No mere change in the administration of Government, no Legislative amendment of the Laws, no projects for the Alleviation, and not the Prevention, of Pauperism, no schemes of Public Education, no Sabbath-day preachings without work-day realizations, are singly or collectively equal to the removal of the vice under which Society labours. The reason is, that the remedy must be adequate to the disease; and these remedies are local or temporary, while the disease is deep-seated and chronic. This we shall proceed to show.

§ 1. The Defects of Society are Organic.

The evils which the benevolent agencies of the day are intended to remove have their origin in no accidental circumstances nor transient cause, but are inherent in the very structure of Society.

Mankind suffers so terribly, even in the most favorable condition in which it is placed, not because there is any absolute want of Intelligence, or Art, or Industry, or Wealth, or Goodness, in the world, but from the fact that the Form of Society is such that the mass of Men cannot avail themselves of the advantages of life, already created, and that the bounties of Heaven are mostly confined to an inconsiderable portion of the race. There are food, clothing, and comfortable habitations enough, in every civilized Nation, to feed, clothe, and protect all its People; there is Knowledge and Love enough in every civilized Nation, could they only be made available, to direct all classes and render them happy; yet the mass of the People, everywhere, are miserable, ill-fed, half-clothed, ignorant, and debased beings, whose bodies are broken and whose souls are ground out of them by hard work. How great soever the general advancement of any Society, one fact remains permanent—the Poverty and Suffering of the Masses.

This result is sometimes ascribed to the voluntary imprudence or vices of the individuals who feel it; and no doubt it is aggravated by individual delinquencies; but the real cause of it is in the actual form of Society.

The relations instituted among men, by the present form of Society, are those of extreme individual Selfishness, which generates to Indigence, Fraud, Oppression, War, Disease, and False and delusive Doctrines, and the effects of which cannot be prevented by any change short of a thorough social Re-organization.

We might, were this the proper place, go into a thorough demonstration of this proposition; but we must content ourselves for the present with a brief statement of some of the characteristics of our present Social arrangements and a rapid outline of the Remedies we propose. We shall follow the popular Political Economists, in the classification of Social processes under the heads of Production, Distribution, and Consumption, although we hold this classification to be inadequate. We believe that Society, in all these respects, is defective or pernicious.

As to its methods of Production, it is evident,

1st. That it engenders bodies of men whose functions are either directly *destructive* of wealth or entirely *unproductive*—such as Armies,

whose business it is to waste the energies of the People: the various classes of idlers, or drones, who are found in great abundance in every community; officers of justice, magistrates, constables, sheriffs, &c., who, however useful in certain respects, would not be required in a more perfect state of Society, and are therefore a burden upon productive power; officers of the revenue and collectors of taxes, only made necessary by our imperfect arrangements; and the immense number of sophists, philosophers, and controversialists who are a permanent evil, whether we regard the unproductive or the pernicious nature of their vocations.

2d. It gives occasion to a large number of ruinous and demoralizing parasites, who live upon the means of others, by fraud or force, and who are veritable bloodsuckers on the body politic. In this class are included gamblers, sharpers, prostitutes, rumsellers, and a host of other pernicious agents.

3d. It drains away an incalculable source of Social wealth, by means of the general separation which obtains between agriculture, manufactures, science, art, and popular education. Complication and incoherence is carried to an extreme degree in all branches of industry, and there is no systematic and thorough development and employment of all the productive faculties of men. The amount of useful talent that is unused, for the want of means and opportunities for its manifestation, and the amount of capital completely wasted, by unskilful hands or in worthless enterprises, it is beyond the power of the mind to estimate.

4th. It establishes in all industrial relations, under the name of free competition, and in all Social relations, under a thousand different names, a fearful divergency of interests, which leads to flagrant and incessant war between all the individual members of Society respectively, and between individual and general property. Workmen are at war with workmen, capitalists with capitalists, labor is against wealth, and wealth against labor, men against money, and machinery against men, until, in the end, Social existence becomes a mere selfish scramble for gain, over which neither law, nor morality, nor religion, exert any extensive or permanent control.

5th. It renders labor itself, which is the source of all wealth, repugnant, monotonous, dishonorable, and degrading, so that it becomes desirable for all men who are able, to escape from work, by which means the power of production is vastly diminished, and poverty, distress, and public embarrassment proportionably increased.

As to its methods of DISTRIBUTION, Society, under its present form, makes use of incoherent Commerce, which—

1st. Converts the Merchant, from what he should be, as the mere intermediate agent between the producer and consumer, into the despotic master of both. The true function of Commerce is to distribute the products of industry, and is therefore subordinate in rank to the other branches of industry; and as it is unproductive in itself, adding nothing to the quantity or quality of the materials which pass through its hands, it should be executed by the fewest possible agents. But under the existing incoherent arrangements of society, it is the controller of indus-

try, employing an innumerable band of factors and agents, and giving laws to mankind. Thus,

2d. Incoherent Commerce robs the community at large, by the stupendous tax which it lays upon both consumers and producers—a tax which is extravagantly disproportioned to the services it renders—which services themselves might be performed by a twentieth part of the agents now engaged in their execution.

3d. It robs the community by the adulteration of commodities, which is a vice carried to an enormous excess in all civilized nations, and springs immediately from the avaricious and hot competition to which all traders and shopkeepers are compelled to resort. Instances, indeed, are not wanting in this city, in which the unbridled cupidity of dealers has led them to expose for sale products which they knew to be poisonous.

4th. It robs the community by gluts and stagnations, which accumulate vast quantities of goods in one place while the people are starving for them in another, and which offer such provocatives to fraud and speculation, as to corrupt the morals and undermine the prosperity of entire nations. Witness unhappy Ireland.

5th. It robs the community by unlimited exactions in the form of usury; for the merchant, upon a small basis of capital, operates with a fictitious capital in the form of credits and bills, fifty or an hundred times greater in amount than all his real property. He receives the highest rate of interest on the whole, and thus renders the entire class of consumers and producers tributary to his aggrandisement.

6th. It robs the community by periodical bankruptcies, which spread poverty and devastation throughout the ramifications of trade, and even involve the strongest Governments on earth in the embarrassment and guilt of their fatal results. In all these disruptions and financial explosions, the loss must ultimately fall upon the body of producers or consumers, because commerce, employing little property of its own, derives its materials from other sources.

7th. It robs the community by the facilities it possesses for buying when the producer is forced to sell, and selling when the consumer is forced to buy; so that it can regulate prices, and plunder at once both the producer and consumer.

8th. It robs the community by the hordes of stock-jobbers and speculators which it creates, who withdraw capital from productive industry, to employ it in practices engendered by a feverish and dishonest love of exorbitant gain and gambling enterprise.

9th. It robs the community by instituting monopolies, which are among the most monstrous and gigantic evils of the whole brood of commercial vices, aggravating every defect and extending every baneful influence of incoherence and antagonism.

Let it be understood, however, that we are here speaking, not of individuals engaged in commerce, but of the system.

In its methods of CONSUMPTION, the present form of Society—

1st. Is characterized, *negatively*, by the absence of vast and important economies, because its families dwell in isolated habitations, into which it is impossible to introduce those modes of saving in fuel, light, cellar-

age, and domestic labors generally, which would be easy in combined and unitary mansions. The presence and industry of more than one-half of the members of a community—women and servants—are rendered perpetually necessary to take care of the households of the remainder. And,

2d. For the same reason, it is characterized, *positively*, by an enormous expenditure of time and money, utterly remediless, under present arrangements, although it forces seven-eighths of the people of civilized nations to wear out the greater portion of their lives in accumulating the mere materials of living. The large majority of men are placed under the suicidal necessity of destroying their energies in order to keep themselves in comfortable existence.

But, not to dwell upon these points, let us ask if in view of this disorder and waste, it is any wonder, that poverty is so general in all civilized nations: that the few only are in possession of the goods of life, while the many are trampled in the dust; that the demands for benevolent exertions are every year increasing; that the vices of violence are spreading in the lower classes while the vices of licentiousness more and more infect the higher classes; that the faces of all men are feverish with anxieties; that discord, jealousy, and hatred prevail among different ranks; that neither politicians nor preachers discover an outlet to the overwhelming floods of social distress; that some sink into stupid indifference in regard to their fate, and others run into the madness of extravagant dreams; that all political and religious contests, being contests of opposing interests, become so embittered with vindictive passions; or that so many look to Revolution and Bloodshed as the only means of rectifying the abuses of the past? Need we wonder? No! Society is constituted on a wrong principle, and so long as it is, it must suffer the fearful consequences which God has attached to error.

Were an individual to prove himself as utterly destitute of a regulating principle as society is; were he to leave his affairs at such loose ends, each to take care of itself and no one to look after the whole; indulge in all manner of waste, and despise the most palpable economies, spend his whole time in pampering the belly or the head, while the limbs and other organs were neglected; were he to live in the foulest atmospheres and in the filthiest hovels, utterly regardless of all the laws of health or morality, would he not inevitably fall into disease and misery? Now society as a whole, which is only a larger Human Being, does all this and more than this, and must expect the inexorable effects. It has no head, no concert of action; its members, running where they please, are exposed to every variety of accident and evil; they war with each other; they are subjected to diseases; they lie in idleness and filth; they are covered with sores; and the whole body must suffer.

§ II. The Nature of the Remedy.

The question, then, arises, how Society can place itself in its true state? We reply, that if the representations we have just given be correct—if there be this inherent defect in the very structure of society, the evil is not to be removed by any kind of action upon the *individual*. The great and fatal error of the philanthropists of the day is, that they

look almost exclusively to the reform of individual men. Only reform the individual, they say—only infuse good Christian principles into the hearts of all men, and you will have reformed Society! Granted! and then comes the rub. How are you to reach the individual? How are you to bring the appliances and means of Christian instruction to operate upon the vast mass, who labor from morning to night, and who have neither time nor opportunity to listen to your prelections and preachments? How can you expect while they are steeped in misery to the mouth, that they will keep their ears open to your counsels? How are you to remove them from constant temptation? How can you prevent the inevitable laws of social movement from keeping them down in the mire and filthiness of degraded and brutifying poverty? Can any amount of individual reform prevent the waste, the competition, the antagonism, the selfishness, the falsehood, and evil passions, which are the direct and unavoidable result of the workings of our badly organized or rather unorganized societies? It is not enough, to exhort them from your pulpits—be good, be temperate, be wise; you must place them in circumstances to be all these. The very form of society, we say, generates a larger part of the vices under which it labors, and the only reform that is adequate to meet the evil is one that shall reach its source. Your appeals to the Individual are in themselves good: they proceed from noble sympathies, and are the manifestations of a holy desire; we do not ask you to relax in any benevolent exertion; but at the same time, we assert that they are partial and must of necessity be inefficient. They do not penetrate to the heart of the matter; they play round the surface, at the best; they operate over small spheres only; they cannot thoroughly regenerate Humanity.

On the same grounds, we affirm that the measures of our political parties can have only an inconsiderable and temporary effect for good. Statesmen and jurists, taking it for granted that the actual form of society is only superficially defective, employ themselves only in superficial meliorations. All that they propose, in the way of reform, relates exclusively to the correction of administrative abuses or the alleviation of local evils. Even those among them (and how few are they!) who are actuated by the higher motives of philanthropy see no practicable modes for the accomplishment of their desires, or fritter away their time and intellects on petty projects and abortive schemes? What party, or what leader, is prepared to meet the real and alarming difficulties which we have shown to exist in the bosom of all modern nations? What guaranties do they propose against the increasing miseries of the poor; against the dangers to life and property through revolutionary convulsion; against the oppression of all classes, by fraud and violence; against the evils of internal war; against the mischievous influences of individual competition and the adulteration of alimentary substances; against the increasing immorality of the inferior classes; against the selfishness of individuals, and general distrust? None! They know of none; they scarcely dream of any. As to the majority of politicians, indeed, absorbed in the contemptible squabbles of self-seeking parties, they have no sympathy with the mass of the people, and are destitute of a right method of assisting them if they had.

The utter inefficiency of Political reforms is exhibited by the fact that so long as Society remains in its present incoherent and warring state, the contests of its political parties must partake of the prevailing antagonism. Accordingly, we find that these contests everywhere are the mere conflicts of opposing material interests. They are dignified, it is true, with the name of battles for principles, but in reality they are not so; they are battles on narrow, selfish grounds, of class against class, of locality against locality, of business against business. The only sense in which they can be regarded as contests for principles, is that in some instances a large body of the people are more interested in the measures of one party than they are in those of another: consequently, the triumph of that party may be looked upon as a triumph for the Majority of the People. In general, however, the success of any of our political parties consists of putting one set of men out of office and another in, and substituting one series of selfish interests for another. It is on this account that their petty warfare is so perpetually renewed. Their apparent progress is nothing more than movement in a circle. Will any one pretend to say that either of the parties in this country are one jot in advance of their respective founders, Hamilton and Jefferson? After fifty years of incessant debate, excitement, and turmoil, precisely the same questions are agitated. The arguments, the appeals, the controversies of the earliest days of the Republic, with a few unimportant changes of names, would be just as applicable at this day. Now one party has been in the ascendant and now another; yet both ring the same eternal changes on the question of Bank—Tariff—Public Lands; Public Lands—Tariff—Bank.* We do not mean that there has been no progress in Society; for, thanks to Industry, Science and Art, there has been great progress. It is our Politics which has been smitten with shameful barrenness. What has been gained one day has been lost the next; what was established yesterday is demolished on the morrow; what one class has acquired has been at the expense of other classes. And the reason of this unceasing fluctuation we have seen, is, that the material interests of men, which are alone brought into the dispute, are for ever fluctuating, with time and place. They move this side and that, hither and thither, now up and now down, shifting with every adverse or propitious wind, modified by a thousand irregular influences, and always exhibiting the characteristics of caprice rather than of any settled law.

This very instability and fruitlessness of political controversy might have led our statesmen, had they been wise enough, into a discovery of the cause of the evil. The cause, we have seen, is in the universal and utter DIVERGENCY OF INTERESTS, which marks the processes of all civilized societies; and, therefore, the remedy indicated, in the nature of the complaint, is the adoption of some method by which we can produce CONVERGENCY OF INTERESTS. Yes, we proclaim it boldly, confidently, with emphasis, that the only cure for our social distresses, that the only means of real, true social progress, that the great want of the age, is Social Re-organization on the principle of Unity of Interests.

* Since these remarks were written, the National Reform and Liberty Parties have sprung up, and promise to infuse a new and better life into political action. God speed them in it!

Unity alone can save us from the tangled incoherence and jarring self ishness of existing divisions. Unity alone can introduce order and freedom into the wild, weltering chaos of the social world. Unity is the grand reconciler, the source of all strength, the fountain of all joy. It is the enemy of Discord, of Confusion, of Duplicity, and of Wrong. It is the highest conception of the Mind; it is the synonym of Harmony and perfect Justice; it is the Central Truth of all sound Philosophy and Religion. God is ONE, and all his creation, visible and invisible, must be ONE. There must be unity of man with man, of man with the Universe, of man with God. All the deductions of human reason, all the teachings of Science, all the aspirations of the heart, all the promises of Scripture, point to the realization of Universal Unity. God's word is pledged to it; Man's soul demands it. Hell is hell, because it is not there, and would become Heaven the moment it was found.

As the beginning of these grand, comprehensive, and holy Unities, we must have Unity in Society, the method of bringing about which we think we discover in the doctrine of Association.

§ III. The Organization of Industry.

By Association, we mean the Organization of Industry in the Township.

Industry includes every productive exertion of human faculties and forces, and may be distinguished, for the sake of precision, into 1. Domestic Service, 2. Agriculture, 3. Manufactures, 4. Commerce, 5. Education, 6. The study and application of the Sciences, 7. The study and application of the Fine Arts. All these branches of human activity must be combined in a unitary organization.

What we propose distinctly, then, is, that this process of combination be begun in the Township, or in bodies of men equivalent in number and extent to an ordinary township. We say, in the township—the township is the element out of which all larger social Organizations are formed; because, throughout all nature, the process of Organization is commenced in a small centre of vitality, and gradually extended; because, in cases of unsuccessful experiment, little damage can result from failure on so small a scale; and because the township, while it is a compact and manageable body, still embraces all the means that are necessary for the complete and successful formation of a true Organic Society.

As to the principles, then, on which this Organization of the Township should be attempted, we propose, 1st. The Association of all its inhabitants into a Joint-Stock Company; 2d. A Central unitary Mansion and Workshop; 3d. The division of Labor according to the law of Groups and Series, which we shall subsequently explain; and 4th. The distribution of Profits or Benefits, in equitable proportions to the Capital, the Labor, and the Talent that may have concurred in their production. A word now on each of these points.

1. We adopt the Joint-Stock principle, which allows the amount of Capital contributed to the common fund by each individual to be represented by certificates of Stock, because we believe the possession of individual property to be necessary to the true and harmonic manifesta-

tion of individual character, and the rightful exercise of individual liberty. The great defect, we think, of all the plans for co-operative Industry that have hitherto been attempted, was that the existence of the individual has been swallowed up in the Community, in utter contradiction to our natural sense of independence and justice, and in flagrant violation of a desire inherent in every mind to express its individuality in outward material forms and creative efforts.

2. We adopt a Central Unitary Mansion in which, however, the dwelling-houses of every family will be kept separate and distinct, to secure the vast and combined economies altogether impossible in a state of isolation; to provide neat and comfortable workshops for those engaged in all the branches of labor; to erect Schools, Museums, and Galleries of Art; to facilitate a ready change from one employment to another; to prevent needless and dangerous exposure to the inclemencies of the season; to treasure the accumulated Art and Science of one generation for the use of succeeding generations; and, by the fact of common ownership, to beget a spirit of corporate sympathy and mutual devotion.

3. We divide Labor into Groups and Series, because it is an arrangement indicated by Nature. Through all the kingdoms of created existence, Mineral, Vegetable, Animal and Human, we discover this division into Groups and Series, or into Genus, Species, and Variety. It is universally adopted by Naturalists, and admits of precise and comprehensive classifications. From the minutest atom to the largest world, there is nothing which does not arrange itself under this law of distributive order. Thus, too, in all the assemblages of Human Society, men, women, and children, in their pleasures, their recreations and their occupations, naturally form into Groups, united by some common bond of sympathy or attraction.

Now, we say that all kinds of industry are divisible into similar Groups and Series, or Classes, Orders, Species, &c., and that, as the industrial inclinations and tastes of men fall under the same law of distinction, there must be, in all societies embracing a sufficient number of persons, a perfect co-adaptation of the latter to the former—an accurate and well-defined, but voluntary, correspondence between aptitude and work. For every function to be performed there is an answering taste and capacity. A primary step then, in the Organization of Industry, is to divide and subdivide its processes into as many minute varieties as they admit, and to allow all laborers who are capable, men, women, or children, to engage freely in any branch they please, subject only to the laws which each Group and sub-Group may form for itself, and to the general unitary discipline of its appropriate Series.

By this simple mechanism, we hold that we can achieve the most stupendous advantages. We think that no one who will take the pains to study its probable workings can fail to see, that it would render all labor voluntary and agreeable; that the talents of each person would be consulted in the choice of his work, and, in this way, all productive forces be most effectively applied; that the most vivid emulation would be excited between the various groups, but which, however, would never degenerate into individual hostility; that each laborer might en-

gage in many different vocations, and thus give an equable development to his faculties; and that the relationship of the groups would be such, that no one could labor for himself without laboring at the same time for his neighbor, yet in no instance diminish the recompense justly due to his individual exertions.

4. For, at the end of stated periods, there would be a distribution of profits, in the approximate proportion of five-twelfths to labor, four-twelfths to capital, and three-twelfths to talent, estimating labor the highest, as being most necessary; capital more than talent in quality of its usefulness; while talent, being most agreeable and devolving upon few in number, would be the least rewarded. It would be easy to establish the proportion of labor to talent, the laborers in each group being classed according to capacity. There would be distinctions also between the groups and series, according to their degree of necessity, utility and agreeableness.

We might dwell upon these principles, and show their actual foundation in human nature, and the necessity of their operating in perfect harmony, but our space compels us to refer the inquirer for these details to the works of the Immortal Genius from whom they were derived—CHARLES FOURIER. He has worked out the results with the precision and comprehensiveness that ever characterize True Science. It is to him that we are indebted for what we consider the only right formula of Social Organization. His profound and searching intellect seems to have penetrated all the mysteries of social existence, to have grasped all its elements, and with a wisdom that has never been surpassed by Man, combined them in a whole of glorious harmony and perfection. A discoverer of more important truth, in the walks of Science, has never appeared on Earth; and we rejoice in the privilege of making his views known to our fellow-men. But while we are speaking of this lofty genius and noble-hearted man, let us say, that we only profess to teach such parts of his system as are positive and which we understand. There are some of his more speculative views, relating to cosmogony and the future manner of society, for which we do not hold ourselves responsible. But for all that he has revealed to us in regard to the Organization of Industry—for his clear and exhausting analysis of present Society—for the mathematical rigor of his demonstrations of the need and advantages of Combination—for the simplicity and beauty of his Social Mechanism—for the grandeur of his views of Human Nature—for his ennobling conceptions of our Destiny on Earth—for the magnificence of his Intellect and the goodness of his Heart—for his strong, abiding, deathless love of the Brother, and intense devotion to the discovery of the will of God—we feel the sincerest admiration, the deepest gratitude. He was the chosen instrument of Divine Mercy, in imparting a New and Grand Science to Humanity.

But we must return to the more immediate subject of our address.

§ IV. OBVIOUS ADVANTAGES OF THIS ORGANIZATION.

This Organization of Industry, then, which we propose, may be described simply as a method of producing concentration and organic unity in all the useful branches of human exertion. That it is no

" visionary scheme," but a rational and indispensable condition of improvement in Society, everybody must confess who will only reflect, for a moment, upon what have been, and must be, the results of combination, applied to the different elements of social life, as enumerated in the preceding section.

In *Agriculture*, unity of management in a large farming establishment —where capital and intelligence would never be wanting, where the laborers would be properly rewarded for their diligence and skill, where the distribution of crops could be accurately adjusted to the nature and variety of soils, where no part of the hurried and complicated work of the Summer would suffer for want of attention, where substantial granaries would secure the harvest against all the vicissitudes of the seasons and of accident, and where the highest degree of scientific and practical knowledge could be combined in all kinds of cultivation through the concurrence of the experience of many—is so obviously superior in point of produce and economy, to the impoverished and miserable specimens of husbandry which prevail on our small farms, with neither capital, skill, nor labor, subject inevitably to mismanagement, and altogether unable to take advantage of the various properties of the soil, the view needs only to be suggested to a sound mind to be instantly appreciated.

In *Manufacturing Industry*, the advantages of well-regulated combination would be still more desirable and immense. By concentrating the capital and skill of a whole community—by bringing the different departments of mechanical execution into the closest neighborhood and helpfulness—by introducing the minutest division of labor—by rendering available the largest economies in steam or other power, in machinery, in fuel, in rent, insurance, taxes and space—and, at the same time, by avoiding that pestiferous competition among individuals which withers the energies of workmen, the products of labor could be multiplied to an incredible extent, and with less wear and tear of human muscles and less loss of human sympathy, in a century, than is now expended under the system of separated and competitive establishments in a year. But we are speaking, under this head, of the merely mechanical and productive advantages of unitary combination.

In *Commerce*, it is hardly necessary to refer to the vast superiority of concentration over separation and antagonism. If we recur to the evils of incoherent commerce, to which we have before alluded—to the perplexities and frauds of retail dealing, and to the great positive losses which accrue from every unnecessary multiplication of agents, or needless enlargement of the profits of mere middle-men between Producer and Consumer; and if we remember that all these evils could be avoided in a more compact and concentrated arrangement of the inhabitants of the townships, or by a more direct interchange of commodities between different States, we shall at once see how immeasurably society at large would be the gainer, both as to the amount of its products and as to facility in the modes of their distribution.

It is in *Domestic Service* that the benefits of combination over isolation display themselves in high degree. Domestic Service, which now requires two-thirds of the human race to supply the mere bodily domes-

tic wants of the other third—which is accompanied, in a thousand ways, by the most profligate expenditure and waste—which institutes the most odious and detestable relation of Master and Servant—a relation in which the petty tyrannies of the one are as disgraceful as the obsequious compliances and deceptions of the other are debasing—and which converts the fairest and most lovely portion of God's creation, the Women, into drudges and menials, pecuniarily dependent upon their "Lords and Masters," and wasting their finely-strung powers of mind and heart upon miserable shriveling cares; this Domestic Service—so puzzling to our self-styled Democrats and Christian Philanthropists, becomes, in Association, a system of the wisest economy, of ennobling and mutual helpfulness, before which every man and woman stands in the full stature of Manhood and Womanhood, unbroken by cares, unawed by despotism, conscious of their equality with all their fellows, yet bound to them by the strongest ties of reciprocal service and good-will.

In *Art and Science* the advantages of Association are scarcely less apparent than in the other branches of industrial activity. The general tendency of artists and scientific men to form Societies for promoting Art and Science is an indication of the benefits to be derived from combined effort, even in the imperfect modes in which only it can be attempted in the present state of social incoherence and clashing interests. If these same men, under a better organization, could concentrate the light of their study and genius; if capital or time were never wanted to enable them to prosecute their experiments; if laboratories, museums, galleries, implements, &c., were always at hand; and if they were always sure of a community disposed to benefit themselves by their discoveries or creations, and to reward them for their pains; then the life of the Artist or Philosopher—too often, alas! a life of penury and neglect—would become a life of extensive usefulness and glory; and those treasures of knowledge, too much confined to the cloister and the studio, attainable by all, would diffuse universally the means of health, improvement, and gladness.

But it is in *Education* that the glories of concentrated effort shine out in their brightest lustre. What is especially wanted, in regard to the instruction of the People, is, that it should be *universal* and *integral*, that it should embrace every member of the human race, and likewise every faculty of every such member, in due relation and harmony with other faculties. These objects, however, are quite unattainable under existing arrangements, where a large portion of the children have no educational provision made for them, or are unable, on account of the need of laboring for subsistence, to avail themselves of such provisions as are made—while the education which they receive, even under the most favorable circumstances, is partial, elementary, incomplete, and often erroneous. But in a well-regulated Association it would be otherwise. Every child in the community would be progressively educated, from the earliest periods of infancy to the latest moments of its life; educated by masters, each of whom would be abundantly competent in his particular department, and by methods which would combine practical instruction in different branches of useful industry, with the highest

development of scientific principles and results. By the nice and beautiful distribution, which an organization of groups and series allows, there would be always a numerous and highly intelligent body, composed both of men and women, devoted, from capacity and love, to the industrial training of children, to the best methods of secular teaching and moral discipline, and to the continuous application of the positive precepts of Religion. No collegiate institution in this country—scarcely one among the old and richly endowed institutions of Europe, could equal the Seminary which the poorest Association might easily establish —either in the amount or variety of knowledge which would be communicated. All the facilities of improvement to be derived from books, from museums, from collections of art, and from experimental philosophy, would be heightened by the opportunities afforded for practical applications, in the fields and workshops, so feebly furnished in agricultural and manual-labor schools. The very amusements of childhood might readily be converted into sources of instruction; and thus body and mind would be developed together, the most vigorous physical health contributing to the vigor and growth of the mind. Surely, if there were no other advantages to be derived from organic concentration, the advantages of it, as a mere educational establishment, would suffice to recommend it to benevolent and Christian men.

In any of the departments of Industrial Activity, then, scientific combination is of very great importance; but who shall essay to estimate that importance, when this combination includes, not a single element only, but all the elements of social life? when all the rays of life shall be concentrated into one grand collective whole, in one great central focus?

What an idea must these brief suggestions furnish of the efficiency of a thoroughly organized Association! Where twelve or fifteen hundred persons, or three or four hundred families are concentrated in one unitary mansion or domestic club, or rather where one series of domestic clubs of different degrees of rank and fortune, are united in one general administration; where several miles of territory are cultivated as a joint-stock property, according to the best practical and scientific knowledge; where manufacturing and art and science are pursued, in their various relationships, by hundreds of votaries practising and studying in concert; where useless competition and retail complication in commercial intercourse would be eradicated by a wholesale system of commercial credit and economy, and where consequently every thing would be had at wholesale prices, and of unadulterated quality; where moral and religious agency would always be at hand to discipline the mass and neutralize the influence of individual depravity; where individual cleanliness and industry would be guarantied by general necessity, and where individual license would be kept in awe by the perpetual presence of public and collective decency—there would be true fraternal, Christian Association, and Society approaching its natural state of moral Equilibrium and Harmony.

§ V. Attractive Industry.

For there would be realized the grandest practical conception that ever entered the mind of Genius, that of Industry rendered attractive.

In the present condition of Labor, this phrase is almost a solecism in terms. Indeed, so long as Society remains in its incoherent and selfish relations, it must remain under the original curse of monotonous, degrading and afflictive toil. In the sweat of its brow must it eat bread. But when the true principles of Christian Love shall be applied to all its relations, then shall even labor be redeemed.

The reason why Labor is now repulsive, and the possibility of making it attractive, can easily be shown.

There is nothing repugnant to the nature of Man in activity itself, but on the contrary that Nature is so constructed that it demands activity. The *circumstances* under which we labor alone constitute the hardship of Labor. Many of our so-called Pleasures require ten times the activity of the most protracted toil, and yet they are eagerly pursued. Now, why is this? Let us see.

The Nature of Man requires wealth, elegance, health, and the gratification of the senses. But isolated labor, under the arrangements in which it is now prosecuted, often offends the senses, cramps and deforms the organs of the body, destroys the health, and, after all, earns scarcely more than a bare subsistence for the workman and his miserable family. Need we be surprised that such labor is repugnant, or that as the workman ascends the social scale and these causes of offence are removed, that his work becomes more and more agreeable? Is there not, then, reason to hope that in Association, where these causes will be altogether removed, that work will become altogether agreeable?

Again: The Nature of Man requires the union and sympathy of persons who are agreeable to each other, men, women, children, parents, friends, colleagues, reciprocally bound by ties of affection. But isolated labor, as now conducted, either wholly separates men, during all the long hours of the day, from companionship, or forces them into the company of others whom they do not love, and for whose vices of manners or morals they may feel a profound disgust. The necessity of living obliges them to endure the annoyance—yet it is an annoyance which can only be abated in the free groups of Association.

The Nature of Man requires movement and variety, a frequent change and contrast of positions, and the alternate and successive exercise of all his faculties, both of body and mind. But Labor, prosecuted as it is at present, chains him to one unyielding monotonous task, hardly relieved by even a solitary recreation, and presenting no hope of improvement for the future. In Association we have seen that this monotony could not exist.

Finally, the Nature of Man needs enthusiasm, rivalries, and the consciousness of working together with others for some noble and disinterested end. But the isolated labor of the present system presents the most selfish motives to the workman, who is at best striving merely to keep himself and family in life, without those loftier considerations of general good which would give dignity to his toil, elevate his self-respect, and bind him with the strongest bonds of fraternal regard to his race. In Association, the working-man will feel that he is but one of many, engaged in the grand and mighty solution of Man's destiny on Earth, a co-equal among brothers, a Servant of Humanity, a Steward of

Heaven, in the distribution of its richest bounties. Even the most trifling task would partake of a high and exalting character; every act of the hand would be an act of benevolence; Work, as the old proverb expresses it, would be Worship, and the whole of our life a continuous living ascription of thankfulness to God.

Is there one of the amusements, so hotly followed by men of this world, which would not be converted into a degradation and abhorrence, if we were compelled to follow them under the conditions to which Labor is subjected? Would the opera, or the ball, or the theatre, or any other mode of divertisement, present a single charm if it could only be obtained under the circumstances in which Labor is performed? Would those things continue to be pleasure, if they were only to be found in dingy and noisome workshops, amid low and indecent companions, protracted throughout the entire day, and undertaken for some paltry motive? On the other hand, would not Labor, in clean, wholesome, and ornamented rooms, in the presence of friends and allies, short in duration, frequently varied, and animated by purposes of general good, soon cease to excite aversion, and become as attractive as it is now disagreeable and repugnant? It behoves those who are inquiring as to the best method of elevating the working-classes to think of these views.

§ VI. Order, Justice, and Liberty.

The peculiar constitution of Society, which we have just sketched in briefest outline, is alone adequate to meet all the wants of Social and Individual Man. It is by the rightful organization of Industry only that the indispensable guarantees and conditions of Truth, Justice, Order, and Freedom can be established in all the relations of existence.

What Society wants is Justice and Order; what the Individual wants is ascertained means of Subsistence, perfect Freedom, and the opportunity of developing every noble and useful faculty; and these, we repeat, must come through the regular Organization of Labor.

The general practice of Justice and Truth in Society is wholly impossible, so long as Labor shall remain in its present state. So long as there shall be Masters and Workmen, or individuals, some of whom are interested in obtaining from others the greatest amount of work at the lowest possible cost, while the others are equally interested in doing the least amount of work at the most exorbitant price; so long as there shall be Producers and Dealers interested in raising the value of Products, and, on the other side, Consumers interested in depreciating this value; so long as there shall be Producers and Merchants interested in the ruin of each other, and Workmen impelled to enter into fatal competition with other Workmen, there must be Duplicity and Injustice in the state of all our practical relations. We must begin by introducing the practice of Truth and Equity, in the sphere of Labor, if we would see it prevail in other spheres. Labor is the chief element in the life of Man—the most numerous, the most important interests of Life depend upon Labor; and when it shall be fully organized, on a principle of Harmony instead of Antagonism, the most vast and beautiful ameliorations must follow in its train. When all men shall work

for each other, and no more against each other, the temptations to Selfishness and Fraud will have been removed, and every individual will find that the more ardent his devotion to Truth and Justice, the more certainly he will add even to his external means of Happiness. "Seek first," say the Scriptures, "the Kingdom of Heaven, and all worldly comforts shall be added thereunto"—establish Unity in your Industrial relations, and Wealth will be the consequence of Integrity.

Then, too, the blessings of Public Order shall be secured; for the debasing and maddening wants of the Poor, which now drive them into frantic insolence and riot, shall be abundantly satisfied; the oppressions of Capital, ever striving against Labor, until the last is forced into desperate reaction, shall cease; and those awful contrasts of Condition, which are not natural, but the result of the heaped-up abuses of many centuries, and which excite so much of turbulent jealousy and leveling spleen, shall give way before Equitable Inequality and Distributive Justice. Oh! it is saddening to see, in the present state of competitive strife, how class is dashed against class, in all the unbridled fury of prejudice and hatred—how the Poor trace their miseries to the Rich, and how the Rich neglect or fear the degradation of the Poor; to see that there is so little mutual confidence, so much of separation, such iniquities of Exaction and Fraud on all sides; our very modes of Charity often disgraceful to the giver and insulting and useless to the receiver; Honor and Love alike trampled out in the whirl of Business, and the noblest natures made to grind at the wheel of imperious Necessity, while they might be sending pulses of Joy and Health to the remotest extremities of the globe. But, thank God, that through the triumphs of Organic Combination and Social Unity, we can see an end to these terrific despotisms and confusions of circumstance!

For, it is through the Organization of Industry that the Individual will finally be emancipated from Industrial Slavery, from Pauperism and Care, and from false Social positions. In the combined Township, where all kinds of Labor will be open to all, he will, for the first time, find himself free. It is a beggarly and contemptible notion of Freedom, which confines it to the right to locomotion or the right to vote. Man has higher needs and nobler aims than these. He wants Freedom to Labor—to express his inward nature in outward forms; freedom from perpetual anxiety, that he may give his mind to quiet meditation and creative thought; freedom to train every physical and intellectual faculty to its highest degree of activity and refinement; freedom to enjoy all the works of Art, all the discoveries of Science, all the revelations of Religion; freedom to mingle in joyful intercourse with his fellows—to give intensity to his domestic ties, and to share the blessedness of a comfortable and peaceful home; freedom, in short, to use God's world in a manner worthy of himself and his Creator, and thus fulfil his Destiny on Earth.

To the achievement of this exalted and comprehensive freedom, there is necessary an abundance of wealth, attainable by all, the certainty of various employment, and a universal circulation of knowledge and love —all utterly impracticable in a condition of society where the few only

can secure the advantages of life, and where the many are condemned to degrading toil; but inevitably and easily obtained, where the whole mighty energy of Society shall be concentrated in the production of this glorious result.

§ VII. Relation to other Reforms.

This reform of the township, then, we recommend to the attention of all classes of men and women; to politicians of every party; to philanthropists of all grades; to Christians of all sects. We say to ALL, because we believe that it possesses all the requisites and characteristics of a universal reform. It covers ground enough to include every variety of interest and all shades of opinion. In its external features it may seem new, but in its inward spirit it is as old as the heart of man. The world, for some centuries past, has been preparing for its advent; but especially, within the last few years, have the benevolent aspirations of the Human Race been struggling to realize themselves in some arrangement of society like that we propose.

"The many *partial projects of Reform*," says one of our noblest writers, "which agitate our cities and towns, which send armies of lecturers and scatter snow-storms of papers and tracts over the land, which animate conversation around every private fireside, and in every bar-room, steamboat, rail-car, all naturally and necessarily tend to central Social Reorganization. The *Abolitionist* finds that his universal principles of Freedom and Human Rights apply to the serfdom of wages as well as to that of chains, to the oppressions of White and Black alike; and sees that nothing but an elevation of Labor to its true dignity everywhere, and an honoring of all men according to their genuine worth, can complete the work of redemption which he longs for. The *Non-Resistant* and *Peace-Advocate* finds that the wars which desolate the fruitful earth, waste national resources, engulf human energies, and make death a less evil than the hell of brutal passions thus set loose, are the final result of the petty wars of competition, which make each man in his own sphere an Ishmael; and sees, that legalized murders and penitentiaries, and the government of force can be put away, only by giving every human being the free development and exercise of his best powers in right and useful directions. The *Temperance* advocate finds the explanation of his brethren's excesses in the depressing influence of their monotonous employments, in their wretched homes, anxieties, coarse associations; and sees, that to cure society of the madness of intemperance, we must discover and use some healthful and pure stimulants, refining recreations, wider culture, steadier occupation, larger spheres of action and thought, nobler interests, above all, freer access to the most elevating society. The *Moral Reformer* finds in the dependence of women, the meagre pittance paid for their services, the frivolity resulting from superficial education, the extravagant demands of fashion, the worldly selfishness of many, if not most, marriages, the limited avenues opened for female energies, and the general tone of insincere flattery, an explanation of the hideous maelstrom of licentiousness; and sees, that nothing but the *securing for Woman an equally free career with Man* will enable her to attain the commanding power, which husbands, sons,

brothers, fathers, need to have for ever poured upon them, to purify and soften their characters. It is seen, too, that the concealments which are possible in society, as now constructed, favor the outrages which pollute it; and that all need to live in the full light of a common conscience, of a common sense. The *Physiologist* finds, that excessive weariness, deforming labors, ill-regulated hours, bad air, adulterated food, want of abundance of water, wretchedly constructed houses, crowded dwellings, breed such a general miasm of disease and lassitude, that not one in a thousand reaches symmetric manhood; and sees, that rotation of occupations, country air, leisure and recreation, wholesome and well-prepared viands, liberal baths, manly games, are indispensable means to cure the state of half-sickness, which unmans the moral and mental energies of so many, and spreads such a sorry dulness over cheerful spirits. And so we might go round the circle of the noble Reforms, which have stirred for years past with ever-increasing power the public mind, and show how each and all demand for their fulfilment, *associations of men and women, resolute to do perfect justice to human nature, by perfect obedience to the Creator's laws.*"

The *Political* changes of the country tend to the same result of the peaceful establishment of juster relations in all details of social existence. It is seen that the great parties which divide the Country are but the aggregate of the little parties which divide every town, and that these again are but the concentrated expression of strifes which embitter the every-day transactions of all kinds of business. *Unjust division of toils, unequal distribution of profits, isolation and opposition of interests*, is the radical difficulty which the whole Nation recognises. The Capitalist knows that every day the tenure of his possessions becomes more insecure, his investments less certain, from the restless experiments of those who, confident that they are not duly recompensed for their weary drudgery, resort to any new expedient, any new shift; and either from fear, if he is selfish, or from humanity, if he is generous, inquires for some mode by which he may aid to enrich a larger multitude without impoverishing his own family. On the other hand, the Working Man, longing, under the stimulus of our free Institutions, for social elevation, wishing thorough Education and Refinement for himself and children, sick of the petty frauds which cheat him at every side out of his hard earnings, in unkind relations with his employer, in unnatural competition with his fellow laborer, feels that the rust of jealousy is eating into the golden links of his affections; and either learns to hate the prosperous, while conscious of his dependence upon them, and seeing, too, that the abasement of the Richer Classes would only make the Poor poorer; or, more brave and hopeful, listens to every schemer who proposes some new plan for obtaining "equal chances to equal capacities, and equal rewards to equal works." The endless succession and variety of the bankruptcies, also, which swallow up the Distributing Classes—the Merchants and Traders, wholesale and retail—point to radical errors in our Commercial System, and stimulate Producers and Consumers to demand some mode by which they may be brought into close contact, without this prodigal drain of the means of both to feed these uselessly numerous hosts of go-betweens. And the Commercial

body itself confess what a dreadful waste of energy, talent, character, and, alas! too often of conscience, there is, in this rush of hungry traffickers, hasting to seize on Riches as the stepping-stone to respectability. Our national mania for Wealth, making haggard so many cheeks, wrinkling so many brows, bending with premature cares so many manly forms, and converting life into a mint, where the clink of stamped coin drowns human speech, impels all who respect themselves and their brothers to ask for some less costly mode of gaining those outward goods, which, when obtained, are but the foundation whereon to rear homes of Affection and Beauty, temples of Love and Wisdom, some more certain mode of procuring for the many the advantages which now, with all this merciless expenditure of power, are insecurely possessed only by the few. And finally, the increasing spirit of Liberty, the deepening respect for Man, the conviction of the inevitable necessity of greater equalization of all conditions, give resistless force to this demand for a union of all divided interests. In some manner, civilized States must substitute co-partnerships for wages, and effect a division of gains graduated in proportion to the amount of energy or means expended, and the amount of profit realized. Bank or no Bank, Tariff or no Tariff, we must all co-operate to return to Industry, in fairer ratio, the reward which Industry fairly earns. The Organization of Industry is manifestly the political problem now forced upon all by Providence, and the end must be some form of Association.

When even thus hastily we cast our eye over these many movements of Reform, now mingling their floods in one grand river, may we not, must we not find courage, hope, and calmness in the thought, that it is Divine will, not man's caprice, which has brought this people to their present desire for *Social Reorganization*. The love and justice which God has inspired, make, in these varied modes, the demand for communities based upon principles of true social order, where the energies of each shall be exerted for the good of all, and the well-being of all shall re-act upon each individual, as in a living body the several members work together, suffer and rejoice together. This hope of peace and kindness, in all our relations of industry, education, enjoyment, intercourse, worship, so strong as it is in many hearts, so universal in its aim, is the prophetic spirit of the age.

The *Christian Spirit* of this American Nation, wearied by polemics, earnest for fuller actualization of brotherhood in the business and labors of daily affairs, strengthened by endless efforts of benevolence, and yet disheartened at the small results of public and private charities, looks with longing to plans which seek to substitute *radical justice* in production, distribution, and use, for *superficial alleviation* of wrongs. The Christian Conscience of our people sees that Society itself causes the very crimes which it punishes, the very wants which it taxes itself so insufficiently to supply. The holding pews in a meeting-house, assembling a few times in the week for devotion, and supporting a teacher and pastor, is felt to be a kind of association too utterly inadequate to deserve the name of church-fellowship. The religious sentiment, concentrating upon the practical application of its professed principles, confesses that the structure of our religious societies is altogether too weak

a bond to unite those whom the necessities and temptations of the world drive into selfish collision. By contrast with the law of love, announced from our pulpits—our actual divisions into castes, separated by accidental circumstances—our daily cheatings, lyings, over-reachings, abuses of power and opportunity—our competitions and rivalries, are admitted to be intolerable hypocrisies. Hospitals, almshouses, prisons, are loud comments upon the universal selfishness of our existing social relations. Strange obliquity! when we point to the very institutions which are the horrible evidences of our accustomed inhumanity in the week-day work of life, as monuments of the brotherly kindness preached about and prayed for on days of rest. Either let us unblushingly assert that *love* is a visionary abstraction, sentimental nonsense, fit for poets to dream of, but unworthy the thought of practical men, or else let us prove that in fact it can govern *every occupation, and our whole intercourse.* So says the Christian Heart of Society to-day.*

§ VIII. Religion.

The basis of our Reform, therefore, is Religious, although we wish to urge it only on the ground of Science. Our present aim is to conciliate, to a certain extent, all Sects and Parties, both in Church and State, by a plan for introducing Truth and Equity into our Industrial arrangements—which plan we can prove to be in consonance with Revelation, because it is Science. We accept the Book of Scripture as a standard both of Faith and Morals; and the Book of Nature as a test and standard of principles of Science, and by this double standard we require to be judged—received, or rejected.

The American Associationists, the only name by which we wish to be known, are not a sect in Politics or Religion; they ask all sects in Religion to try their principles for rendering Truth and Equity practical, by that universal standard which all Sects adopt, the Bible; and they ask all parties in the State to leave the revolutionary field of party strife, and look dispassionately at universal principles of Scientific and Social progress.

We long for unity among the material interests of men as the necessary groundwork and condition of higher spiritual unities. We wish to see the Truth and Love that are already in the world made practical, that by the very practice of them we may ascend to still superior degrees of Truth and Love. We think that the time for exciting and bitter controversy has ceased, and that the time for harmonious, friendly action has come. We think that the human mind has already run into a sufficient number of ultraisms to develop the infinite variety of its faculties and characters, and that the period has arrived for a general reconciliation. Matter and Spirit, Man and Nature, Earth and Heaven, have been too long at war; henceforth let them be as One.

Associationists are not indifferent to Religious inquiry; they have a profound faith in the religious origin and destiny of the human soul; they believe in the Scriptures as the word of God; they trust in the

* William Henry Channing.

universality of Providence; they hope to see the kingdom of Heaven realized on Earth. But they cannot set up any distinct theological creed, nor can they rely upon mere religious enthusiasm in the propagation of reform. And the reasons for their remaining neutral in these matters are, that in the multiplicity and conflicts of warring sects, they do not know which to adopt as exclusively in the possession of the truth; that they have already recruited to their ranks persons who are individually connected with every existing Church, such as the Roman Catholic, Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, the Unitarian, the Universalist, the New Church, &c.; that they believe it to be the most just and rational policy to remain on the *positive* grounds of science which they can understand, without adventuring into the uncertain fields of speculation or polemics; and that the true Christian spirit, at this age of the world, demands the toleration of all who conscientiously adhere to religious truth. We recognise the right of every individual to remain connected with any branch of the Universal Church in which he may have been taught, or which he has conscientiously adopted; while we wish to hold up the science of Association as a Universal Science, at the service of every Church and Party.

We do protest, however, against the fanaticism which claims the religious character exclusively for those engaged in doctrinal disputes or sectarian declamation, and which argues that a scientific body must be necessarily material or irreligious in opinion if it does not directly advocate some peculiar religious creed. We wish to promulgate the principles of Science and Order in Society; to neutralize the influence of a deadly selfishness and antagonism, both on the external condition of men, and on their religious and political speculations; we wish to feed and clothe the poor, and harmonize the worldly interests of all parties, that religion may have universal and unceasing influence in reforming moral feeling and preparing souls for spiritual purity here and hereafter; and if for this we are to be accused of want of Faith and Religion, we must consider the accuser as destitute of charity, and a bigot. It is not true religion that opposes Science, nor can it be true Science that opposes true Religion, since they mutually illustrate and assist each other in the redemption of Humanity from ignorance, from disease, from suffering, from wrong, and from spiritual death.

But we take higher than this mere defensive ground; we have positive principles to teach; we are propagandists; and while we steadily refrain from mingling with the peculiar religious feelings of any sect or individual, we yet assert that the true organization of every sect is only to be found in the principle of Association. Religious truth is the *principle* of unity and harmony, but it cannot be realized in *practice* universally, without a correspondent unity of action in the sphere of worldly interests. Association is the true form for the practical embodiment of religious truth and love; and while Attractive Industry and Unitary Combination are not themselves Religious Unity, they are the body or collective form in which alone the ordinances of Christianity, the spirit of Religion, the Universal Church can be incorporated, practically and incessantly; for without the Body the Spirit cannot be fully manifested on Earth.

An important branch of the divine mission of our Saviour Jesus Christ, was to establish the kingdom of Heaven upon earth. He announced, incessantly, the practical reign of Divine Wisdom and Love among all men; and it was a chief aim of all his struggles and teachings to prepare the minds of men for this glorious consummation. He proclaimed the universal brotherhood of mankind—he insisted upon universal justice, and he predicted the triumphs of universal unity. "Thou shalt love," he said, "the Lord thy God with all thy mind and all thy heart, and all thy soul, and thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets." Again: "If ye love not one another, how can ye be my disciples?" "I have loved you, that you also may love one another." "Ye are all one, as I and my father are one." Again: he taught us to ask in daily prayer of our Heavenly Father, "Thy Kingdom come, thy will be *done* on Earth as it is in Heaven." Ay, it must be DONE, actually executed in all the details of life! And again, in the same spirit, his disciples said, "Little children, love one another." "If you love not man, whom you have seen, how can you love God whom you have not seen?" And in regard to the *form* which this love should take, the Apostle Paul says, "As the body is one, so also is Christ. For by one spirit we are all baptized in *one body*, whether we be Jews or Gentiles," &c. "That there should be no schism (disunity) in *the body*, but that the members should have the same care one for another; and if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored all the members rejoice with it." "Ye are members one of another."

These divine truths must be translated into actual life. Our relations to each other as men—our business relations among others—must all be instituted according to this law of Highest Wisdom and Love. In Association alone can we find the fulfilment of this duty; and, therefore, we again insist that Association is the duty of every branch of the Universal Church. Let its views of points of doctrine be what they may—let it hold to any creed as to the nature of man—or the Attributes of God—or the offices of Christ—we say that it cannot fully and practically imbody the Spirit of Christianity out of an Organization like that which we have described. It may exhibit, with more or less fidelity, some tenet of a creed, or even some phase of virtue; but it can possess only a type and shadow of that Universal Unity which is the destiny of the Church. But let the Church adopt true Associative Organization, and the blessings so long promised it will be fulfilled. Fourier, among the last words that he wrote, describing the triumph of Universal Association, exclaims, "These are the days of Mercy promised in the words of the Redeemer," (Matt. vi. 5.) "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." It is verily in Harmony, in Associative Unity, that God will manifest to us the immensity of his Providence, and that the Saviour will come, according to his word, in "all the glory of his Father: it is the Kingdom of Heaven that comes to us in this terrestrial world; it is the reign of Christ; he has conquered Evil. *Christus regnat, vincit, imperat.* Then will the *Cross* have accomplished its two-fold destiny, that of *Consolation* during the reign of Sin, and that of *Universal Banner*

when human reason shall have accomplished the task imposed upon it by the Creator. "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness"—the harmony of the Passions in Associative Unity. Then will the Banner of the Cross display with glory its device, the augury of victory: *in Hoc Signo Vinces;* for, then it will have conquered evil, conquered the gates of hell, conquered false philosophy and national indigence, and spurious civilization; *et portæ inferi non prevalebunt.*"

CONCLUSION.

To the free and Christian people of the United States, then, we commend the principle of Association; we ask that it be fairly sifted; we do not shrink from the most thorough investigation. The peculiar history of this nation convinces us that it has been prepared by Providence for the working out of glorious issues. Its position, its people, its free institutions, all prepare it for the manifestation of a true Social Order. Its wealth of territory, its distance from the political influences of older and corrupter nations, and above all the general intelligence of its people, alike contribute to fit it for that noble *Union of Freemen* which we call ASSOCIATION. That peculiar Constitution of Government, which, for the first time in the world's career, was established by our Fathers; that signal fact of our national motto *E Pluribus Unum*, many individuals united in one whole; that beautiful arrangement for combining the most perfect independence of the separate members with complete harmony and strength in the Federal heart—is a rude outline and type of the more scientific and more beautiful arrangement which it would introduce into all the relations of man to man. We would give our theory of State Rights an application to individual Rights. We would bind trade to trade, neighborhood to neighborhood, man to man, by the ties of interest and affection which bind our larger aggregations called States; only we would make the ties holier and more indissoluble. There is nothing impossible in this; there is nothing impracticable! We, who are represented in this Convention, have pledged our sleepless energies to its accomplishment. It may cost time—it may cost trouble—it may expose us to misconception, and even to abuse; but it must be done. We know that we stand on sure and positive grounds; we know that a better time must come; we know that the Hope and Heart of Humanity is with us—that Justice, Truth, and Goodness, are with us; we feel that God is with us, and we do not fear the anger of man. *The Future is ours—the Future is ours.* Our practical plans may seem insignificant, but our moral aim is the grandest that ever elevated human thought. We want the Love and Wisdom of the Highest to make their daily abode with us; we wish to see all mankind happy and good; we desire to emancipate the human body and the human soul; we long for Unity between man and man in true Society—between man and nature by the cultivation of the earth, and between man and God, in Universal Joy and Religion.

By order of the Executive Committee of American Union of Associationists.

HORACE GREELEY,
President A. U. A.

THE BOSTON UNION OF ASSOCIATIONISTS,

AUXILIARY TO THE

AMERICAN UNION OF ASSOCIATIONISTS,

WAS INSTITUTED DECEMBER 7th, 1846.

OBJECT.

Its object is the establishment of an order of Society based on a system of

JOINT-STOCK PROPERTY:
Co-operative Labor;
Association of Families;
Equitable Distribution of Profits;
Mutual Guarantees;
Honors according to Usefulness;
Integral Education:
UNITY OF INTERESTS:

Which system we believe to be in accordance with the Laws of Divine Providence, and the Destiny of Man.

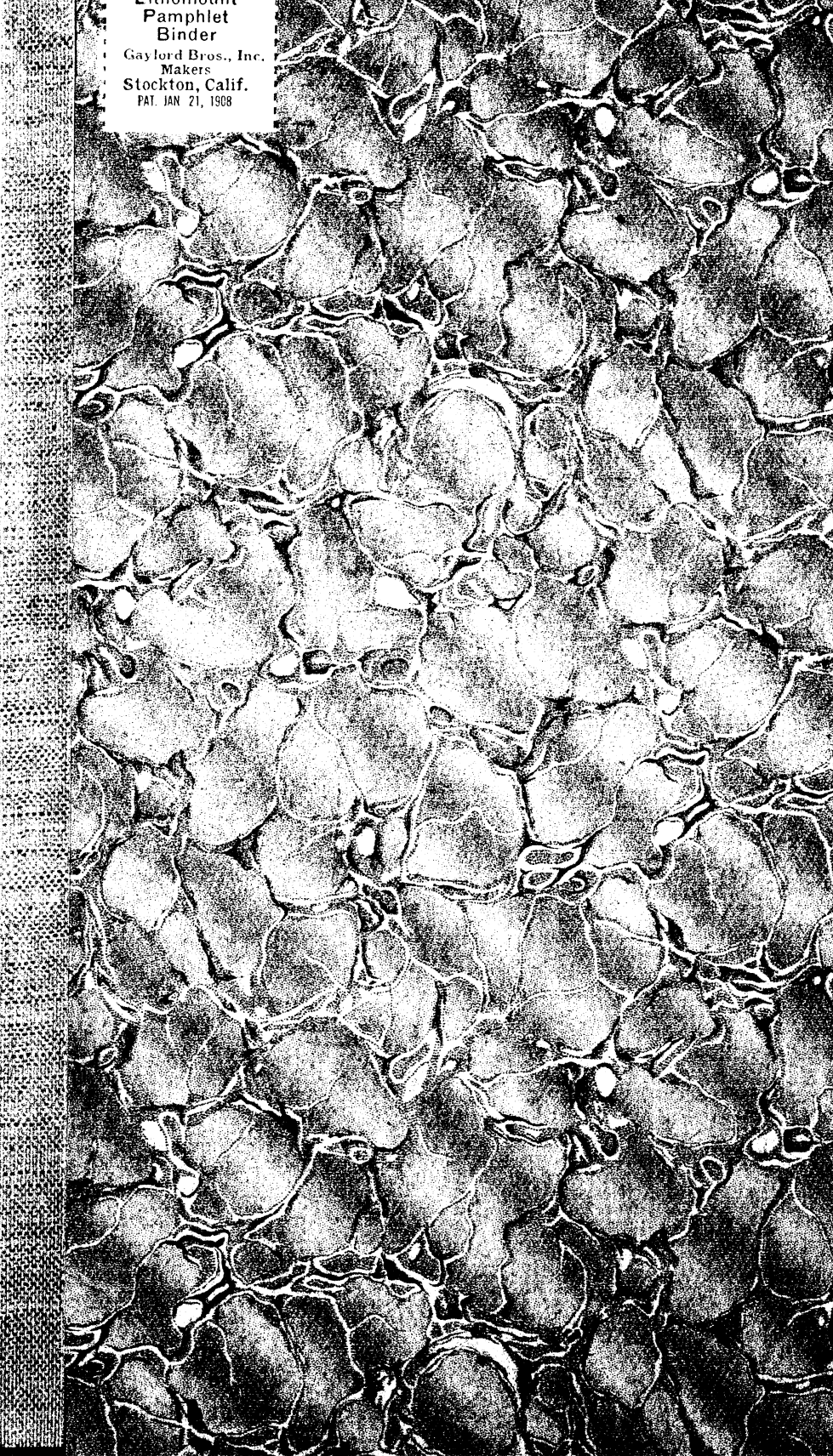
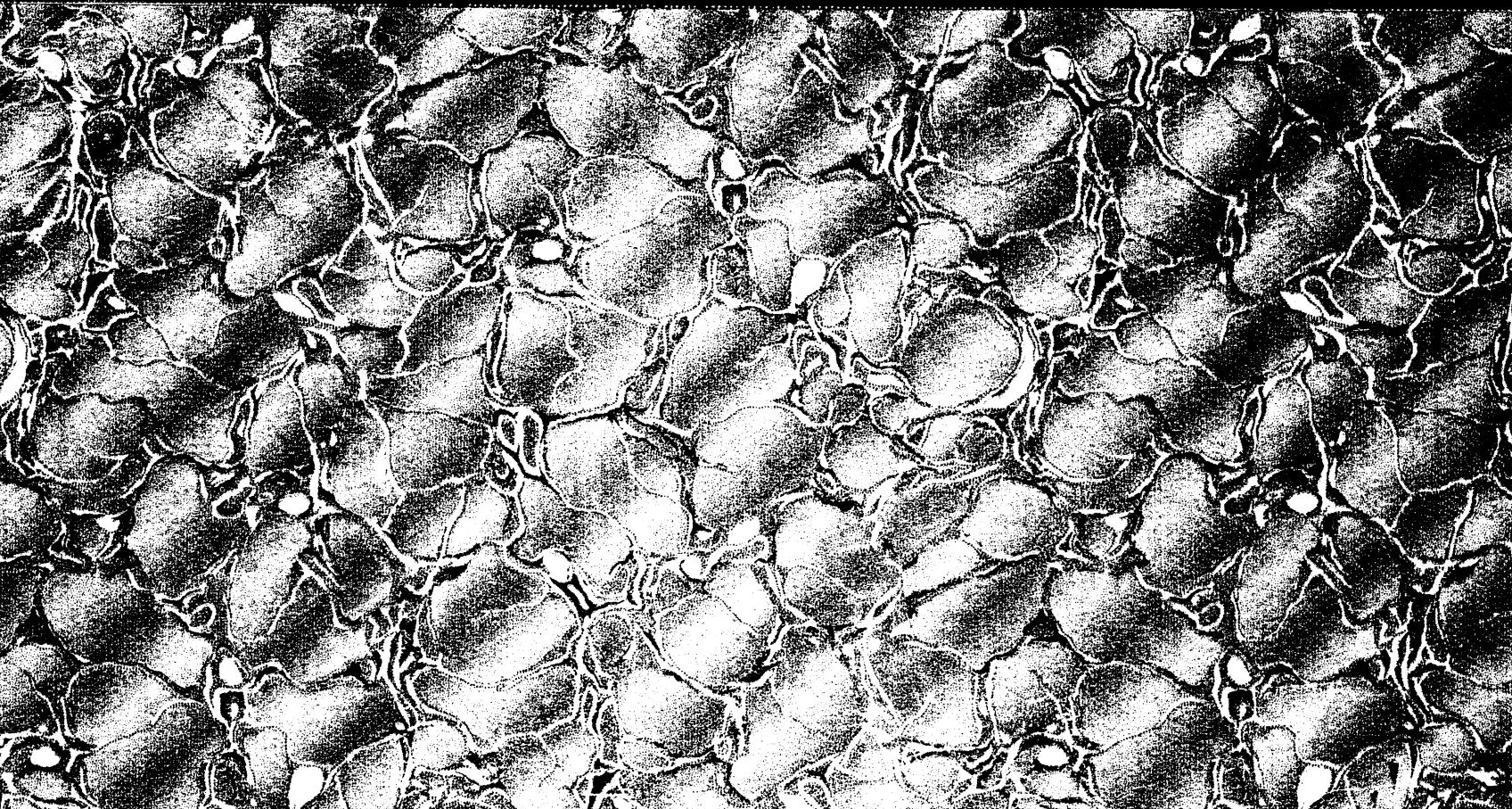
MEMBERSHIP.

The conditions of Membership are the signing of the Constitution, and the payment of such a sum weekly as shall be specified at the time of signing.

REGULAR MEETINGS.

Public Meetings of the Union are held at the Union Rooms, Hancock Hall, No. 339 Washington St., every Wednesday and Sunday evenings (excepting the first Sunday of each month) for the purpose of conversation and discussion on the science and philosophy of Association, and its relations to the various Co-operative and Guarantee movements of the times.

All interested in this *most comprehensive* Reform, are cordially invited to attend and participate in the discussions.

Boston, November 1st, 1850.

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